G.R.S. IX—5]

Previous references. 1922. File No. 21-22

(Rev)

Serial Nos. 1819

Later references.

GENERAL AND REVENUE SECRETARIAT.

Serial Nos. Two

Part B for July 23

SUBJECT

Tds for the information of Govt the views on the proposals of the Reforms Committee.

Sl 19) No 159
21.7.23

To
The Gl Secretary,
Vakkalagar Sangha

Acknowledges your letter regarding the above.

Sl 17/(E)

Printed on the Multigraph.

15.11.23

2/(1

G. R. S. III-2]

General and Revenue Secretariat. | Rg File No. 21 of 19 23.

Serial No.	
18	Letter dated - July 23 From The General Secretary, Vokkaligara Sangha Forwards for the information of Govt the views of the Sangha on the proposals of the Reforms Committee. 1) The letter is not dated. But the Chief Secy has noted on the P.N.D that it was received on 19th inst. The time extended was upto 16th July. 2) Summary of representation is put up. 3) Filed with a draft for orders under the circumstances pointed out in para 1 supra. Sd 20.7.23. Issue SRT Please put up file with Summary of Opinions Rg 21/7. 21/7
19.	The General Secy. Vokkaligara Sangha Bangalore city. Dt. 21.7.1923. Acknowledges the receipt of his letter No. A refd to in the above Sl. Put up as per orders above. A Summary ord. is already put up 21/7. Sd Now I am afraid the Summaries are not accurate enough. For in stance the Sangha does not propose communal Electorates (Summary No. 1). Whereas it proposes that Communal representation may be retained in General Electorates.

NOTE—Contn. sheet.

G. R. S. III-2]

General and Revenue Secretariat. | File No. | of 19

Serial No.

On the Sanghai letter, I have marked the more important points. These may be carefully summarised & put up.

RR
26/7.

Summary, as indicated above, is put up.

26/7/23.

Please put up a typed copy of Summary & remarks.

RR
31/7/23.

Typed copy is put up

2.8.23.

Subd. for perusal.
No action required

RR
2/8

Dewan.

Secy. Please circulate to Members

1/8
1918

1st member
2nd member

1166
13.8.23.

RR
13/8

RR
15/8

RR
16/8.

NOTE—Contn. sheet.

DIARY No. 82 (3

CHIEF SECRETARIAT
18 JUL 1923
R.A. & REFORMS SECTIONS.

19 —19
Section. Ref
File No. 21-22
Serial No. 18

To,

K. Matthan, Esq., B.A.,
Chief Secretary to the Government
of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore,
Bangalore.

Sir,

With reference to G.O.No.3996-4055/103-22 C.B. dated 9th January 1923 publishing the report of the Committee on Constitutional Developments in Mysore and inviting public opinion on it, I am directed by the Executive Council of the Vokkaligara Sangha to state for the information of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja that the Report in question has been considered at a special meeting of the Sangha and to submit below their views on the same. Before doing so the Executive Council of the Sangha begs leave respectfully to express its deep gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja for the gracious announcement made in the Representative Assembly held in October 1922, conveying His Highness's desire to introduce further reforms into the State so as to associate His Highness's subjects more and more with the Government and to increase the popular element in the adminstration and for appointing a Special Committee to work out the details of the scheme.

2. The Vokkaligara Sangha entirely concurs in the view of the Reforms Committee expressed in their report that "Mysore is a Unitary State", and that "the Head of the State is the supreme Executive Head as well as the source (and sanction) of law" (vide part 65 of the Report), that in Mysore as in British India, the incorporation of the people in the Government is essential to the strength and stability of the State in internal as well as external relations (para 6 of the report) that the people must be put <u>en rapport</u> with the Government in various ways other than the mere machinery of constitutional

(45

representation in the Legislature (para 33 (1); that "a ministry or bureaucracy responsible only to the Head (as in the Mysore State) should not form centres of independent delegated sovereign authority serving as barriers between the Head ~~(xxxixxthexkyxxrexxixix)~~ and the people" that "in a State of the Unitary pattern, whatever delegation of sovereign power there is, must be to popular bodies or corporations representing the people" para (29(2); that "there can be no constitutional reform in Mysore without the reform of the raiyat at the plough," (para 283) that even of political institutions were accidental by products of history, they could not be imported wholesale from abroad but in truth they are regional products and the true test of a people's institutional construction from within in response to the forces of the given region and environment" (para 22); that "on the theory of constitutional reforms, the members of the Representative Assembly emerging as it were from the body of the people should bring mandates regarding the people's wants, desires and grievances and make their own recommendations about the general trend of legislation as well as of adminstration as referred to them. They will thus serve, however informally and rudimentarily the two important ends of imitation and reference. Such a body, as has been said, must be the epitome of the people and its raison-detre having the character of a conference of the delegates of the whole people, and that in the final consummation a not very distant goal, the primary assemblies forming the electrmorates should comprise all the adult active citizens of the State. But the Legislative Council has a different end and therefore a different composition. It will shape and formulate legislative measures to secure the well-being of the people by ways and means acceptable to the representatives of the people. . . . . It will be not an epitome of the people, but an assembly embodying its collective wisdom and virtue. It must bear some

proportion to the size and population of the State and to the variety of its interests. It must be a body not too large for its business, it must be a representaive public assembly, not a close Committee and not too small and it should represent the various groups, functions and interests in the State . . . ."

3. It is clear from the above that in any scheme of reforms that may be introduced into the State and in the reconstitution of the Representative Assembly, the Legislative Council and other public bodies provision should be made for the proper representation of the masses as well as the classes having regard (1) to their numerical strength (2) to the existing social conditions, divided as they are into so many castes and creeds giving rise to a conflict of interests of the different communities (3) to the uneven distribution of education among them, creating a sense of superiority and inferiority among the educated and uneducated people, and accentuating those differences and bringing in its train innumerable evils, hardships and disadvantages to the illiterate masses and to the desire on the part of the higher or enlightened classes with vested interests to cling to power and authority which they have been hitherto enjoying undisturbed and to resit and thwart any attempts on the part of the ~~lower~~ backward classes to assert their rights and to associate themsleves in the adminstration of the State under the liberal policy graciously announced by their beloved Sovereign. A comparative statement is given below to show how backward the majority of the communities are in spite of peaceful Government for over a century in regard to education - especially in English - a knowledge of which is so essential in these days for the material and political advancement of the people.

(67)

Comparative Statement showing literacy among the important communities in the Mysore State.

Community (1)	Total population excluding C&M Station (2)	Total literate excluding C&M Stn. (3)	Total English knowing excluding C&M Stn (4)	Percentage of columns 2 to 3 (5)	Percentage of columns 2 to 4 (6)
1. Brahmin	213112	98311	27018	41.0	12.0
2. Mudali	14958	4284	780	28.0	5.0
3. Ind. Christians	40820	9913	3078	24.0	7.0
4. Kuruba	398638	8169	244	2.0	0.08
5. Panchala	130902	16939	203	13.0	0.1
6. Mahomadan	315387	38751	2441	12.0	0.8
7. Banagiga	128209	14364	1306	11.0	1.0
8. Lingayat	713812	76631	2234	10.0	.3
9. Maharatta	51761	4975	578	9.0	1.0
10. Devanga	38212	3533	115	9.0	0.3
11. Ganiga	40470	2914	73	7.0	0.1
12. Vokkaliga	1291656	49532	1499	4.0	0.1
13. Kumbara	44050	1941	56	4.0	0.1
14. Kshatria	34368	6677	1006	19.0	3.0
15. Beda	271031	5238	108	2.0	0.04
16. Besta	157736	3175	54	2.0	0.03
17. Agasa	98522	1815	26	2.0	0.02
18. Tigala	71150	1412	68	2.0	0.09
19. Uppara	108575	1706	130	1.0	0.1
20. Golla	154637	2800	157	1.0	0.1
21. Idiga	88700	1485	30	1.0	0-03
22. Holeya	628070	5872	401	0.9	0.06
23. Vodda	151346	813	25	0.5	0.1
24. Madiga	277799	903	46	0.4	0.02

Note.- The figures have been taken from the report of the Mysore Census of 1921 and are subject to correction.

4. Bearing ~~in mind~~ the above facts and views in their mind the Sangha respectfully suggests that the present strength of the Representative Assembly, viz., 280, should be retained and not reduced to 250, as recommended by the Committee and that they should be distributed as follows:-

(1) Rural Constituencies including Sringeri & Yelandur Jhagirs at 3 for each ...	175	instead of	163
(2) Urban Constituencies ...	40	"	37
(3) Special interests	20	"	15
(4) Communal Associations	20	"	-
(5) Minorities including nominations	25	~~same as proposed~~	35
Total	280		250

Note.

(i) Out of the additional seats under rural constituencies one more seat may be alloted to each of the 8 sub taluks, 2 seats allotted to each of the Jahagirs of Sringeri & Yelandur.

(ii) The additional 3 seats under "Urban Constituencies" may be allotted to the towns of Sagar, Mandya and T.Narasipur which come next to those mentioned in Schedule A to the report.

(iii) Out of 5 extra seats under special interests 4 seats may be allotted to Agriculture at 2 seats for each division (Eastern Division and Western Division), which though an important one, is not provided for in the report and one may be allotted to "Labour generally including Plantain Labour", as no provision has been made in respect of these in the Report.

(iv) The 20 seats provided under Communal Associations are intended for new associations that may be formed hereafter as well for the existing ones.

(v) As separate provision has been made above for Communal Associations and as the number of seats under (i), (ii) and (iii) have been increased, it is proposed to reduce the number of seats under "minorities" from 35 to 25.

Electorates.

5. Para 129 of the Report says as follows:- "The

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"The majority of the Committee are against Communal Electorates. Some of us think that once the cleavage is introduced, it would very soon enter into alliance with those passions, the greed of materaial gain and the fear of material loss", which deep in the brest of every community strive against the more generous impulses and common fellowship and disinterested sharing, and the result would be a perpetual social war (under the name of an armed peace or armed neutrality) on the usual plea of an effective preparedness. It may be observed that when the Montford Reforms were introduced into British India ~~here that~~ in the adjoining Presidency of Madras where the prevailing conditions are similar to those in the Mysore State the above objection were taken and considered and that in spite of those objections communal representation was ultimately granted. It may also be observed that under the existing social system obtaining among the Hindus, especially in Southern India, and ~~in~~ in Mysore in particular, the cleavages which are deplored by the majority committee ~~and which are certainly "bad for the State as a whole"~~ have existed for centuries by the creation of privileged and unprivileged classes and hide bound compartments known as castes which are by their very nature inimical to solidarity and nationality and by denying equal opportunities and educational facilities to all, especially to those who are dubbed as Sudras or survile classes or to those who while they are made use of for various purposes classed as "untouchables" thus keeping them all in perpetual ignorance and darkness ~~with all~~ suffering the consequent evils to the prejudice not only of the individuals concerned but also of "the State as a whole." While some of the communities with all the advantages of education and social status - both secular and religious - have had an early start in the march of progress and are occupying positions of vantage all round in and out of Government service and are dominating over the others placed under them, it is unfair to make these unfortunate people who have been

ostracised without hearing ~~by others selfishly inclined~~ and who have been disinherited from their birthrights to contest for the seats with heavy handicaps on their backs, which have deprived them of healthy memberships as citizens and turned them into "paralytic lower limbs" of the body-politic. The only result will be for a long time to come certain breakdown and defeat in the contest and the creation of oligarchies which the Committee itself is desirous of avoiding.

6. The Sangha therefore respectfully submits that it is highly necessary that as a temporary measure until education and enlightenment spreads among them these educationally and politically backward communities should as far as possible be afforded special protection by means of communal representation by reserving a certain number of seats to the more important communities commensurate with their numerical strength, ~~and~~ tax-paying capacity, etc. They may, however, be allowed to be returned by the General Electorate and by exercising the powers of nomination in respect of the smaller communities or groups of them, in default of their representatives coming in by election or through their associations. If however these communities have formed themselves into Provincial Associations for their advancement, they should in addition to the reservation of seats for them be allowed the privilege of returning at least one and not more than two representatives according to the importance and strength of the population for each community, as these representatives would go to the various bodies with a mandate for their community as a whole unlike one of its members who would be elected by a rural or urban constituency. It is also submitted that conditions which are likely to prevent the formation of such associations, prescribed in para 140(iii) of the Report, should not be imposed, and that the present rules applicable to them should be continued.

7. In the lists of constituencies for the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council under "Special Interests"

(10 11)

on pages 132 and 151, agriculture which is the chief industry of the State has not been given any place. It is not understood how this functional group has been omitted. As stated in para 23 of the Committee's Report under this functional group, there should be representatives of different vocations, professions and interests and it should comprise agricultural manufacturing and trade interests, etc. The Sangha strongly urges that special representation for that important branch in the rural economy should be provided for by reserving at least 4 seats (2 for each division - East and West) to associations formed by the Vokkaligars, Lingayats and others whose main occupation is agriculture and one seat should be reserved for Labour including Plantation Labour other than Factory Labour.

(iv)

8. Recommendations 13A & 13B - The property qualifications for voters and candidates for the Representative Assembly should, in the opinion of the Sangha, be fixed at Rs.15/- and Rs.25/-, respectively in the case of land revenue payers and those recommended by the Reforms Committee, viz., Rs.50/- and Rs.100/- respectively, ~~may be reduced by one-half and those~~ for the Legislative Council, may be reduced by one-half and all Government or public servants should, as at present, be debarred from voting for candidates for either of those bodies, for obvious reasons.

(v)

(vi)

9. Recommendation 18 re strength and composition of the Legislative Council - The number of official members now provided for, viz., 20 seems to be too high and should in the opinion of the Sangha be reduced to 16. Similarly the number of nominated non-officials members set apart, viz., 8, should be reduced to 4 and the total number of elected members fixed at 30 with 6 members elected from the Representative Assembly instead of 8, as proposed by the Committee and 8 seats should be allotted to "Special Interests" including 2 to "Agriculture". As in Madras, a certain proportion of the above 30 seats should, for the reasons given in para 5 above, be allotted to the backward communities say at least 8 at the rate of one for each district, making

(vii)

(viii)

(ix)

a total of 50 as shown in the margin (4)

Bangalore and Mysore City Municipality -	2.
University - - - -	1.
Commerce and Trade - -	1.
Planting - - - -	1.
Labour - - - -	1.
Agriculture represented by Vokkaligara Sangha & Lingayat Associations etc	2
Representative Assembly -	6
Elected - - - -	16
Official - - -	16
Nominated - - -	4
Total	50

10. II. A. ~~And~~ the opinion of the Sangha graduates of 5 years instead of 10 years standing should be held to be eligible to (X) stand as a candidate to the Legislative Council.

11. In conclusion the Sangha respectfully trusts that their suggestions as made above will receive the careful and sympathetic consideration of the Government and that the Reforms as finally decided upon, will more really beneficial to the people of the State as a whole and in particular,

to the Agricultural classes (the Ryots at the plough) which form the vast majority of the population & which is the backbone of the State

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

A. Ramanayake

General Secretary

Vokkaligara Sangha.

VOKKALIGARA SANGHA.

Summary of Representation.	Remarks.	Orders of Government.
1. Suggests the retention of the present strength of the Assembly Viz., 280 to be distributed as hereunder:--		The distribution provisionally approved by Government is more suitable.
(a) Rural constituencies, including Sringeri & and Yelandur Jaghirs, at 3 for each. 175.	Rural Constituencies. 151.	
(b) Urban constituencies. ... 40	Urban Constituencies. 49	
(c) Special Interests. ... 20	Special Interests. 15	
(d) Communal Associations. ... 20	Communal Associations. 35	
(e) Minorities, including nominations. 25		
280		
2. (1) Suggests the reservation of a certain number of seats to the more important communities, who are educationally and politically backward consistant with their numerical strength and tax paying capacity.	(1) Seats reserved for Mahammadans. 15. Christians. 5 and Panchamas. 3	
(2) They are however of opinionthat the members for the seats so reserved might be allowed to be returned through the general electorate and that, in the case of smaller communities or groups of them, if they fail to put in their representation by election, Government should exercise its power of nomination.		(2) This has been disapproved by the Committee after careful consideration.
(3) They also suggest that if these communities formed themselves into Provincial Associations for their advancement they should in addition to the reservation of seats for them, be allowed the privilege of returning at least one and not more than two representatives according to the importance and strength of the population of each community.		(3) This is the intention. They may return one member subject to the limit prescribed in (1) above.
3. Suggests the deletion of the rules recommended by the Reforms Committee regarding Communal Associations.		This is under consideration.
4. Suggests the reservation of at least 4 seats under ------- "Special Interests" 2 for each division, East and West, to Associations formed by the Vokkaligars, Lingayats and others whose main occupation is Agriculture. They also suggest the reservation of one seat for Labour including Plantation Labour other than Factory Labour.		A large proportion of the rural representatives are agricultural and no special reservation is therefore necessary. Labour will be represented.
5. (a) Suggests the fixing of the property qualifications for Voters and Candidates to the Representative Assembly at Rs.15 and 25 respectively.		The qualification of voters and candidates are the same viz. payment of land Revenue of Rs.25. There are also other qualifications.
(b) Suggests the reduction of property qualification in the case of election to the Legislative Council (viz., Rs.50 and 100) by one half.		This is what is intended to be done.
6. Is of opinion that public servants should be debarred from voting.		Under consideration.
7. Suggests the reduction of official members in the Legislative Council from 20 to 16.		The number cannot be reduced.
8. Suggests the reduction of nominated non-official members from 8 to 4.		do. do.
9. Suggests the increase of elected members to 30, with 6 elected members of the Representative Assembly, instead of 8 proposed by the Committee.		22 is the utmost possible number of elected members. 8 members ~~being~~ from the Representative Assembly approved.
10. Suggests the reservation of 8 seats in the Legislative Council to "Special Interests" including 2 to Agriculture.		So many special interests do not need representation. 4 seats are reserved and there is provision for the nomination of ~~nomination of~~ Representatives of any special interests that may require to be represented.
11. Suggests that out of the 30 elected seats proposed above, at least 8 seats at the rate of one for each district should be reserved for the backward communities. The Composition of the Legislative Council is to be as follows:---- Bangalore and Mysore Municipality. 2.		The distribution provisionally approved is as follows:---- Official Members. 20 Nominated members. 8 Elected members. special interests. 4 Representative Assembly. 8

VOKKALIGARA SANGHA.

Summary od Representation.		Remarks.	Orders of Governmen
		x x x	xx
2. University.	1.		
3. Commerce and Trade.	1	Rural constituencies 8	
4. Planting.	1	Urban constituencies 2	22.
5. Labour.	1		
6.Agriculture.	2		
7.Representative Assembly.	6	This appears to be alright.	
8.Elected.	16		
9.Official.	16		
10.Nominated.	4		
	50.		
12.Suggests that all graduates of 5 year's standing should be allowed to stand as candidates to the Legislative Council.		10 years required so as to ensure that they are experienced.	

The Non-Brahmin Party.

Electorates.

Provision should be made for the proper representation of the masses, having regard 1) to their numerical strength, 2) the existing social conditions divided as they are into so many castes & 3) to the uneven distribution of education.

It is necessary to have communal electorates for a time at least, by reserving a certain number of seats to the more important Communities commensurate with their numerical strength, taxpaying capacity etc.

Special Interests & R.M.

Agriculture has not been given a place. Under this functional group there should be representatives of agricultural manufacturing & trade interests etc. Four seats should be reserved for Agriculture.

R.M. Qualifications & disqualifications

The property qualifications for voters & candidates should be fixed at Rs 15/- in the case of owners & Rs 25/- in the case of Kadian tenants.

The qualifications for Members should be the same as at present. & Conditions which are likely to prevent the formation of Parties, as those contained in para 140(iii) may not be imposed.

Govt

Strength of the H.A.

The strength should be retained at 280, distributed as follows

1) Rural Constituencies including	
2) Srivigni & Pelandan ~~constituencies~~	175
3) Urban Constituencies	40
4) Special Interests	20
5) Communal associations	20
6) Minorities including nominations	25
	280

Under 1 the twelve extra seats may be distributed as one more seat to each Sub-Talaks & two seats to each of the Pagnis of Srivigni & Pelandan

Under 2 The additional 3 seats may be allotted to the towns of Pagan, Manaiyn & T. Nadaiyan

Under 3 the five extra seats may be allotted as four to Agriculture & 2 seats for each one of the State & one to 'Labour generally including Plantation labour'.

Under 4 the seats may be provided for Communal Associations

Under 5 the seats have been reduced as the communities have been provided separately.

Legislative Council

Qualifications

The qualifications for the Legislative Council voters may be reduced by one half.

All Govt or public servants should as at present be debarred from voting

Graduates of 5 years standing should be made eligible to stand as candidates for the Legislative Council

Strength & Composition of the Legislative Council

The number of Official members is too high & should be reduced to 16.

The number of nominated Officials should be raised to 4 & the total number of elected members should be fixed at 30, with 6 returned by the C. & instead of 8, ~~28~~ 8 seats for Special interests including 2 for agriculture. at the rate of one for each of 8 seats may be allowed to the Backward communities.

The composition may be as follows:—

Bangalore & mysore city municipalities	2
University	1
Commerce & Industry	1
Planting	1
Labour	1
Agriculture represented by Vakkaligara Sangha & Rayats Association	2
	6
R. C.	16
Elected	16
official nominations	4
Total	50.

19

(17

G. R. S. VI—G/32]

SUBJECT.....

.....

.....

Diary No. of letter replied to——————

General and Revenue Secretariat

( )

, *the* 191 .

Date of issue 21. 7. 23.

Signed by—— Asst. R. R.

Section Ref.

File No. 21-22

Serial No. 69.

No. 159.

To

The General Secretary

Vokkaliga Sangha, Bangalore City

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No A received in this office on the 17th July 1923, conveying the views of the Sangha on the proposals of the Reforms Committee.

I have etc

Asst. Chief Secy

21/7

Bmn

20.7.23.

over.